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The
**JOURNAL OF
EDUCATIONAL
SOCIOLOGY**

Culture Conflicts and Education
JOSEPH S. ROUCEK, Issue Editor

Minorities, a Challenge to American Democracy	<i>Maurice R. Davie</i>	451
The Wider Phases of Culture Conflicts	<i>Otis Durant Duncan</i>	457
Culture Conflicts and the Welfare of Youth	<i>M. M. Chambers</i>	463
Culture Conflicts and Recent Intellectual Immigrants	<i>Clara W. Mayer</i>	470
Some Experiments in Cultural Pluralism	<i>Maurice S. Hammond</i>	476
Sharing Culture Values	<i>Rachel Davis-DuBois</i>	482
Scaling Cultural Frontiers	<i>J. W. Studebaker</i>	487
Political Aspects of Cultural Pluralism	<i>Phillips Bradley</i>	492
Future Steps in Cultural Pluralism	<i>Joseph S. Roucek</i>	499
Research Projects, 505		
Book Reviews, 508		
Editorial, 449		

APRIL 1939

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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EDITORIAL

The most destructive of all forms of culture conflicts, war, although undeclared, is now raging in various parts of the world. Its growing frequency indicates that international relationships are in a period of transformation, that the old forms of social interrelations are tottering, are being destroyed and disorganized. All of us are intensely interested in this ruinous process and foreign problems stand in the forefront of our public interest.

We must be aware, however, that internally our country is facing a series of wars in the form of culture conflicts, which are just as serious, and in terms of our national welfare possibly even more grave than the fighting going on abroad. Our problems of race and immigrant relations, crime, family difficulties, recurring industrial crises, the growing rate of neuroticism and psychoses, suicide—all these and numerous other strifes indicate that our culture is also characterized by confusion, disorganization, and convulsions. Even those who prefer foreign problems to domestic ones to worry about are becoming increasingly aware that one form of our culture conflicts, that growing from the existence of our racial and national minorities, is intensified by the influence of the propaganda emanating from aggressive foreign dictatorships, which are trying to attract a large group of our foreign-born inhabitants and their American-born children to ideologies quite alien to our ways of thinking,

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although the duty of these citizens is, unquestionably, to render primary allegiance to the United States and not to the rulers of these foreign states. The growing antagonism between these factions and the rest of the American people demonstrates that we have not solved the problem of our different cultural backgrounds.

Since change is basically inherent in all forms of societal life, complete cultural integration is beyond the bounds of possibility. In fact, there is no reason to suppose that it would be desirable. But we can do three definite things in order to reduce our social disorganization. First, our culture change does not have to be left to the winds of chance, but can be directed along the lines which appear most desirable at the present time. Second, in order to be able to guide it rationally and intelligently, we must gather as much empiric knowledge as possible in the fields which are most troublesome today. Third, by knowing where we want to go and by having enough scientific information about the most pressing problems, we can take steps to reduce our culture conflicts, have them expressed in the most useful and the least destructive way, and, in some cases, even eliminate those which are socially wasteful.

The following articles indicate some of the outstanding problems facing us in the field of culture conflicts today, describe some of the experiments leading toward an amelioration of the situation, and contemplate plans to give more direction to our culture changes. The burden of accomplishing most in these respects has been quite obviously assigned to our education, which remains, in our democracy, the most potent and effective social instrument of change and direction (in addition to the conservation of our social values). It can, by coördinating the efforts of all community agencies for the welfare of youth and adults, discharge capably its function, dispel unfounded hatreds, prejudices, and myths, help to bring about a more united country facing the future with hope that it will remain secure and at peace within, and develop, at the same time, an ideology of unity based, paradoxically enough, on culture differences.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

MINORITIES, A CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

MAURICE R. DAVIE

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In many respects the most complete flowering of democracy has been in America. Belief in democracy is one of the cardinal traits of American culture. Recent developments in Europe, especially the rise of totalitarian states, have made all Americans, both old stock and recent arrivals, appreciate anew the advantages and privileges of a democratic order, particularly its freedom of speech and of the press. Only in the liberal atmosphere of a democracy, with a recognition of cultural differences, the granting of full rights of citizenship and of representation to all groups, is there any real hope for minorities. By the same token, the basic test of a democracy is whether it can be extended to include representatives of different nationalities and races on a basis of equality. It is this aspect of democracy that I wish to examine here, with reference to the situation in America.

The establishment of a democracy by a homogeneous people with a common history, culture, convictions, and aims is a relatively simple matter. The problem is to make it apply to diverse groups of different experience and culture. Our Constitution, the framework of our Government, was the work of a relatively homogeneous group of people and was intended to be applied to themselves. The Negroes, for example, were not conceived as members of American society. Nor was Jefferson thinking of them when, as chief draftsman of the Declaration of Independence, he wrote: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." The Constitution did not foresee the emancipation of the slaves nor the huge immigration that was to bring to America millions of people

representative of almost every race and nationality under the sun; it did not envisage the need of incorporating these diverse elements within the State. The problem has been to make both the Government and the ideology of the people fit the new conditions. To the extent that Negroes and other minorities are denied full participation and equal treatment, to that extent does American democracy fail of its avowed purpose; to that degree must it be qualified and the claims made for it restricted.

The Negroes, for example, in the face of all the discrimination they suffer, may well ask: Is this a democracy or a "white-ocracy"? Is the Constitution labeled "For Whites Only"? The Negroes who have presented themselves in defense of their country in as large a proportion as the whites want to know why they should fight for democracy and be denied the right (in the South) to vote for it. Do we really have only nineteen and a half amendments to the Constitution, counting the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth—as DuBois once suggested—as merely half amendments? A few years ago a bill was introduced in the Mississippi Legislature requiring that the Constitution of the United States be taught in the public schools. The bill, sponsored by the American Legion, was about to pass when one of the legislators rose to warn the assembly that it would mean the teaching in Negro public schools of the three war amendments. The bill was immediately tabled and never came up again. How telling is the Negroes' argument that all they want in our democracy is for the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution of the United States to be applied to all citizens without fear or favor! Does the dominant white majority desire or intend to apply these principles to Negroes or are they reserved to whites? There is no greater challenge to American democracy, no more severe test of its institutions.

Next to the Negroes, the greatest challenge to American democracy has been presented by Asiatic immigrants. Here again democracy has faltered at the racial barrier, has seemed unable to

surmount primary race differences. Asiatics, alone among immigrants, are denied the privilege of naturalization, although their children born here can claim citizenship by right of birth. Like the Negroes, they are in numerous States forbidden by law to intermarry with whites. Even where intermarriage is not prohibited, social disapproval effects the same end. In their efforts to earn a living and in social contacts they meet with discrimination and race prejudice. Thus politically and socially they are marked as a group apart. As long as these conditions obtain, their assimilation or absorption into American society will never be complete.

The European immigrant and his children have fared considerably better, yet they too have met with discrimination and prejudice. The situation is especially acute in the case of the alien, for discriminatory laws cannot constitutionally be applied to citizens. There are numerous State laws and local ordinances that exclude aliens from employment on public works and in certain businesses and occupations. Further exclusion is effected by trade-union requirements of citizenship as a qualification for membership and by the policy of individual concerns or departments thereof not to hire aliens. Nor do aliens, and in some respects their children, share equally with the native-born in the benefits of social security and other protective and welfare legislation. Always subject to discrimination and made the scapegoat for the ills afflicting a community, aliens are now experiencing a rising tide of prejudice. It is being claimed (with characteristic exaggeration) that "aliens are taking away jobs from the native-born; more aliens are on relief proportionately than citizens; aliens and their children are chiefly responsible for crime and racketeering; millions of aliens are here illegally, and are continuing to enter in violation of our laws." Such is the latest theme song of a large part of the press, of certain members of Congress, and of certain patriotic societies in an effort to create a public opinion as unjust and dangerous to the best interests of the Nation as it is to the foreign-born in our midst.

Immigrants, even though naturalized, encounter prejudice on all sides and to some degree from all institutions and groups. Sometimes this prejudice comes to the fore in organized opposition and hostility, as, for example, the activities of the Native American Party of 1835, the Know-Nothing Order of 1850, the American Protective Association of the 1880's and early 1890's, and the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920's. These and similar organizations are evidence of a fear and distrust of immigrants and of hostility toward them that is latent in American society, ready to come to the surface and capable of being intensified by propaganda and organization. They usually appear in a time of business depression, following a period of large immigration. In the present depression the new factor of immigration restriction has mollified the situation, yet the tide of prejudice against the foreign-born is rising.

The feeling of prejudice against others is a natural human phenomenon, based on a recognition of differences—racial, cultural, social—between ourselves and others. It usually varies with the extent of physical and cultural differences, the intensity of economic competition, and the number and degree of concentration of the foreign group. In America it is strongest against the Negroes, more intense against Asiatics than whites, and against southern and eastern Europeans as contrasted with northern and western. This attitude is not peculiar to Americans nor to the dominant group. Every nationality is an in-group, preferring its own customs, manners, and ways, and looking with distrust, fear, or dislike on those of out-group members. The sociologist applies the term "ethnocentrism" to this universal tendency in which one's own group is the center of everything and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it. Only by contact, communication, mutual acquaintance, and coöperation can ethnocentrism be lessened and only by complete assimilation, which will eliminate differences, can it disappear.

Here is a task for education. There is no more important or potentially powerful agency in promoting assimilation and in substitut-

ing reason for prejudice, knowledge for misunderstanding. It must be a type of education that takes an objective and comparative point of view, one that stresses the relativity of culture. By studying the institutions and mores of other peoples, one comes to realize that there is no absolute or best arrangement but that the culture of each people is an adjustment to its particular life situation.

Minority groups as well as the native majority stand in need of such training, for all are ethnocentric and must make concessions to form a common culture. The minority groups see superior values in their own culture; at the very least it has the allure of the familiar. They desire to perpetuate it and to preserve a certain amount of separate community life. They must in particular be shown the advantages of adopting the language and other basic patterns of the nation with which they have cast their lot. As long as they maintain themselves as a group apart, they will be subject to treatment as outsiders.

The native group, on the other hand, tends to ignore the immigrants' cultural heritage and to assume that American culture is something already complete, unique, and greatly superior to that of the immigrant. They need to be taught that American culture, like all great cultures, has a long history and is composite; that it has inherited many elements from other peoples and other times, and is constantly adding to its heritage by borrowing. Cultural diffusion takes place through communication and contact with other peoples. The greatness of American culture is due in large part to the fact that the American people have been derived from many peoples who have brought with them the elements of many cultures. The native group needs also to realize that American culture was not fixed in Colonial days. Culture is dynamic, since it is an adjustment to the conditions of life; and these are always changing. American culture has constantly been modified to meet new conditions and in this development all peoples here have shared, native and immigrant alike. Moreover, there is no single pattern to which

all minorities must adjust. The culture of no large and developed society is homogeneous as to details. There are cultural alternatives. Thus, the religion of American society is Protestantism, Catholicism, Judaism, etc. Adherence to any one is characteristic of an American. Some one or more may be nationally or locally predominant and carry greater prestige, but all are acceptable alternatives.

The process of assimilation is in large part the incorporation of outsiders within the in-group so that both may now jointly attempt to solve their life problems with common convictions and aims. The degree of its attainment, in any given case, is directly proportionate to the willingness of the in-group members to extend their circle to include such outsiders, and the willingness of the out-group members to join with them in adopting their basic culture, while making contributions of their own. Thus far assimilation, especially with reference to certain groups, has been incomplete. By the same token, American democracy has accordingly been limited. Further extension of the in-group to include on a basis of equality all the different nationalities and races in America is essential to the establishment of a truly democratic society. It has not yet been demonstrated whether this is possible.

THE WIDER PHASES OF CULTURE CONFLICTS

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The phrase "culture conflict" may suggest primarily racial and nationality conflicts to a large number of people. This is a very narrow and inadequate interpretation of the term. In a given culture the racial question may have become definitely crystallized and the problem of assimilating foreign nationality groups may be either totally absent or of relative unimportance. Yet it would be a *reductio ad absurdum* to conclude that in such a community there are no culture conflicts. Regardless of race and nationality there would be conflicts between religious beliefs, political ideologies, economic philosophies, and between such classes as politicians and taxpayers, the literate and illiterate, urban and rural groups, and numerous other strata and substrata of the population which owe their differences to cultural situations.

In its broader phases culture conflict is a concomitant of (1) changes in the character of the culture, (2) changes in the population arising from migration, vital processes and maturation, and social climbing, (3) social differentiations growing out of variations in the degree of intensity of utilization of specific culture traits, and (4) culture inertia. Sometimes also a question is raised whether culture conflict is immanent within a homogeneous society living under conditions of extreme isolation. It is rather hard to imagine the existence of a group into which new culture traits cannot leak from the outside. Also, it is inescapable that under the most rigid isolation there will be imperfect imitation, that is, a failure of oncoming generations to react to the culture pattern exactly as their parents did, and invention of new culture elements within the society. Furthermore, if we understand culture conflict to mean struggle for status, which arises as the culture situation undergoes modification in any form or degree whatever, it is an inevitable phenomenon in all societies.

Culture conflict often originates in (1) biosocial, (2) socio-economic, (3) sociopolitical, and (4) psychosocial differentiations of populations and groups. Admittedly, each of these classes of social differences among the members of a group or among groups is capable of an infinite dissection and elaboration which cannot be attempted here for lack of space. Equally as important as the origin and source of conflict are its forms of manifestation.

Conflict may take the form of person-to-person combat and may range in scope from that to civil war. Combat involves physical violence and the desire to vanquish an adversary. Ordinarily, when one of the contesting parties is subdued physical combat comes to an end, sometimes only temporarily. Probably the most stubborn form of conflict is that involving the struggle of abstract ideas, values, judgments, or supposed principles. In this form there may be no desire to annihilate a foe but only a compensation for what we call conscience or the ego. Struggles of this type may persist for generations, as has been witnessed in the conflict of good and evil, of the scientific and the theological, the mechanistic and the vitalistic theory of life, and the interminable struggle of labor and capital. Finally, there are mock conflicts such as games which are conducted and ended according to predetermined rules, and symbolic conflict such as the rivalry of colleges which is kept alive purposely by colors, emblems, tokens, and various means. In this last form there may be no issue at stake and nothing to win or lose except a sense of group loyalty to memories and ideals.

There are various devices employed for waging class conflict. Political disfranchisement, economic discrimination, class legislation, propaganda, education, social castes, hierarchies, and an endless number of similar weapons are adopted for facilitating struggle. Paradoxical as it may seem, one of the most frequently employed group methods of carrying on conflict is by coöperation, especially when common ends are being sought and when the odds against individuals are overwhelming. Conflict and coöperation are simi-

lar to the upper and nether blades of a pair of shears. They are obverse and reverse sides of the same thing. One of the most effective methods of carrying on either personal or violent group conflict is to make the opponents angry by the use of ridicule, sarcasm, surprise attacks "below the belt," falsification, and malicious abuse. There is an ancient saying that "Whom the gods destroy, they first make mad." Perhaps this may account for the libelous calumnies perpetrated by politicians and military officials against their opponents in the course of campaigns. Deception through appeals to vanity is another effective aid in conflict. All these and many other modes of attack or defense have been learned by the human race throughout ages of experience. A common characteristic of conflict in all of its aspects is that there is an effort to conceal both the weapons and the ammunition. The skillful combatant tries not to disclose his strategy until the time comes to use it in the hope that his opponent will not recognize his approach.

Some types of culture conflict are rather subtle in character and in their manner of appearance. A concrete example of this may be seen in the internal structure of the standard school curriculum which proposes to be an agent for the equalization of social differences. But herein lies the conflict. The vested interests of groups resist being leveled down and ironed out. The State-adopted course of study attempts to indoctrinate the rural population with urban values which are often poorly adapted to the rural setting. As an illustration, the following verse appeared in one of the elementary language books which was used during the first decade of this century:

If a lady on the street,
Or my teacher I should meet,
From my head my cap I'd take,
And a bow like this I'd make.

Ten- and twelve-year-old country boys memorized that delectable gem not only with superlative reluctance but also with incalculable

bewilderment. What they needed to know was the correct thing to do if they met a woman driving a frightened horse along a road on which the mud was hub deep. They supposed people rode in the streets of cities, and they knew it would be only a clownish act to rise up and take a bow to ladies riding in buggies and wagons. The sidewalk was the only conceivable public passage way on which such conduct would have been tolerable even in town. Out in the country there were no sidewalks. The most that such attempts at acculturation could accomplish, in those days at least, was to make the youth dissatisfied with his own cultural milieu and to confuse him as to what he should do in another, and hence to produce conflict.

Among the cultural characteristics of a group, probably there are no more potent sources of conflict than differences in language, food, clothing, religion, and occupation. We dislike a person who speaks a language we do not understand, whether it be one that is wholly foreign or a dialectal variation of the mother tongue. A person who eats foods that are taboo is a social outcast. If clothing worn is noticeably different from that decreed by fashion, it is a cause for adverse comment. Differences in religion have produced war and severe mass persecution. Furthermore, a man who makes his living by an unfamiliar occupation is likely to be branded as a rogue. In a well-integrated culture all these forms of behavior are regulated according to standards that are approved and accepted by the group. Hence, we have such processes as "civilization," "Americanization," "socialization," and "assimilation," to mention only a few that come to mind.

Education itself is a process of leveling down and of smoothing off the differences among people having a common culture pattern to which they have not all made satisfactory accommodation. New knowledge which is imparted by education is a factor producing conflict because at first it is accessible only to a minority of the group. It runs counter to tradition, superstition, and even to previously

existing knowledge. In so doing it is met with opposition both from those to whom it is given and from those who may not be in a position to receive it. Nothing is more familiar than the coolness which meets the country boy who returns home from college. Frequently he must leave his native group and go where he is not known in order to enter his profession or business. The fact that he learns to speak correctly, acquires strange habits as to food, dress, and even religion renders him unfit for a place in his old group.

On the other hand, education, if extended laterally as well as vertically in the group, may have the effect of assuaging conflict. At the present time there is a strong impetus behind adult education. Why? The high school and the college have reached only a small proportion of the population. Adults on the outside have begun to question and to demand the why and wherefore of so much education. If, however, they can be given some of its alleged benefits in a popularized form, it is thought they will become favorably disposed toward it. But this again is an extremely narrow point of view. Education in its broader aspects widens contacts, promotes understanding, cultivates tolerance, and facilitates adjustments. Through this widening of mental horizons people may come to understand that the heathen cleaves to his religion because it is the kind he was taught and not because of an inherent total depravity. Farmers may learn, by change in perspective, that honest men can buy and sell grain or cotton, and that without such intermediaries the farmer himself would be in a sorry predicament.

In its relation to culture conflict the function of education is to assist the group in gaining liberation from the inertia of a comparatively static culture. It is not enough for education to impart new knowledge. It must relate that knowledge to the life habits of people if it is to be expected to become a powerful force in lessening the intensity of culture conflicts. Undoubtedly, a form of education that teaches a rural lad what to do if by accident he meets a lady on the street, and does not lead him to see the parallel between that knowl-

edge and the situations which face him everyday on the farm, scarcely can be calculated to help him make the needed adjustments to his own culture.

In this discussion an attempt has been made to set forth dogmatically the general thesis that culture conflict is everywhere. In doing that, it has been asserted that conflict is an accompaniment of culture change and of differentiations in the social group with reference to their culture. It has been posited that conflict revolves around the social and institutional structure of the society when changes occur in the culture. Then it has been pointed out that conflict assumes rather definite generalized forms and that there are definite methods and devices by which culture conflicts are carried on. Finally, it has been suggested that conflicts grow into the culture by (1) the tendency of a given culture trait to impose itself upon a more or less unsuspecting part of the population and (2) by the differentiations which seemingly evolve within the group itself, such as variations in food, clothing, and other habits. The ultimate task, then, is to show how, once the processes of conflict arise and are in motion, education, not simply in the formal sense, may act as a mitigating factor. The writer is wholly aware of the limitations of the purely subjective and speculative approach that has been made to this problem. If, however, the discussion has done nothing more than to focus critical and analytical thought upon a perplexing phenomenon and to suggest tangible ways in which it can be understood, its objective has been gained.

CULTURE CONFLICTS AND THE WELFARE OF YOUTH

M. M. CHAMBERS

American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education

"Culture is the sum total of the ways of doing and thinking, past and present, of a social group," says Emory S. Bogardus; and Robert E. Park has convincingly pointed out that the individual comes to share the aims and purposes that find expression in social institutions, thus becomes conscious of his rights and duties, achieves a status, conceives a role for himself, and acquires a personality. Hence it would appear that no comprehensive consideration of the care and education of youth could overlook the frequent and pervasive phenomena denoted by the term "culture conflict."

So it is that the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, in its several recent and current studies, has incidentally noted in different places the existence and effects of clashing cultures. Contrasts of the type here in view may occur among racial, national, or regional cultures, or between the folkways of an agrarian and an urbanized society, or even between those aptly characterized as of two different chronological periods, where the earlier have projected themselves in part into the later time. The importance of culture conflicts in the life of youth is augmented by the increasing mobility of population and the acceleration of social change which mark our day. The usual effects of culture conflicts were well summarized by Professor Park when he indicated that they may provoke mass movements, or may manifest themselves in family disorganization, in delinquency, or in functional derangement of the individual mentality. Let it be added that these same conflicts, if successfully harmonized by assimilation or otherwise, may and often do produce an enrichment of personality and refinements and diversifications of the general culture not otherwise attainable.

Among the interesting and significant forms of cultural interactions which have been reported or are now being studied by the American Youth Commission may be noticed: (1) the current conflict between the persistent folkways and thought-configurations of our pioneer agrarian era and the realities of our industrialized and urbanized age, with its inescapable but slowly accepted implications for the evolution of social organization; (2) the diminishing but yet significant contrasts between the culture patterns of farm, village, small-town, and large urban communities, and the limitations they tend to impose upon stay-at-home and migrant youth; (3) the role of the Negro in American regional culture in the South and North; and (4) the impact between Anglo-Saxon and Latin American racial and national cultures in a southwestern city.

CHANGED ECONOMIC SCENE

One of the first major projects of the American Youth Commission was a survey involving interviews with a sampling of 13,528 persons between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four in the State of Maryland. One conclusion emphasized in Howard M. Bell's report of this survey is that the economic status of the family is now a much more powerful determinant of the destiny of children and youth than in earlier days, when our predominantly agrarian social organization was simpler and the undeveloped frontier offered economic independence at the cost of work and hardship. In other words, being near the bottom of the economic heap in a complex industrial society is far different from being poor in a pioneer community on the edge of a virgin wilderness. Bell discerns that poverty, inadequate schooling, early marriage, and large families go hand in hand, forming a downward spiral in which the youth often fails to reach any higher occupational and economic status than his father occupied.

The dominant ideas of the generation of Americans that produced the philosophy of Horatio Alger are in extensive conflict with

the actualities of our streamlined age, in which sheer lack of any opportunity for employment has created an arid waste period between school-leaving and job-finding for millions of youth. The conflict retards the development of essential social services for youth, commensurate with modern standards.

What is needed? I quote Bell: "Along with the expansion of such existing agencies as full-time and part-time schools, employment offices, and community recreation centers, new agencies, such as vocational 'clinics,' should be created. These should be especially adapted to serve the needs of youth for whom formal school education is no longer desirable."¹ The report also recommends an extended program of student aid, and such other measures as may be necessary to create a "less fictitious equality of opportunity."

CONTINUED MIGRATION CITYWARD

The American Youth Commission's various studies of rural youth have disclosed that the prolificacy of farm families, especially in the "poor-land" areas, where much of the agriculture is economically submarginal, and the displacement of man power by machinery on productive farms create a surplus rural-youth population for whom migration seems inevitable.² Further striking evidence of this likelihood comes in answer to one of the queries put to young persons in Maryland, where the net change in place of residence, as among farm, village, small-city, and large-city youth, if each had his preference, would result in a gain of 36 per cent in the youth population of large cities and their immediate suburbs, with a corresponding loss of nearly 60 per cent from villages and lesser losses from small cities and farms.

¹ Howard M. Bell, "Youth Tell Their Story," p. 156. In the *Report of the American Youth Commission survey of youth in Maryland* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1938), 273 pages.

² Homer P. Rainey and collaborators, *How Fare American Youth?* Especially Chapter VI, pp. 95-118, contributed by Bruce L. Melvin (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937), 186 pages.

What happens to the farm or village youth when he migrates to a metropolitan area? What does he need to equip him to sustain himself in the new environment? At present he must find employment in some nonagricultural pursuit with which he is unfamiliar and for which he has almost certainly had no effective vocational training. Consequently he is often found in the lowest unskilled jobs where hours are long and wages a mere pittance. Unskilled in any trade, often unsympathetic or suspicious toward labor organizations, he is easily exploited and tends to depress the level of the whole labor market, with himself at the bottom of the heap. The answer, say rural-life experts, is realistic vocational training in nonagricultural occupations for that portion of rural youth who are about to migrate cityward. For those who remain on the farm, the answer is education including vocational agriculture and, above all, programs of community recreation and informal education, which will enable them to restore and improve a vigorous and distinctive American rural culture replete with the historic folk songs and dances of other days and other nations, the crafts, the libraries, the athletics, and social diversions that satisfy the social urges of young people and compete with the commercialized amusements of city and town with success sufficient at least to prevent the rural community from losing all semblance of cultural cohesion.

MINORITY RACES AND NATIONALITIES

One of every ten American youth is a Negro, and, as Edwin R. Embree and others have repeatedly emphasized, the welfare of the nine is in large degree inseparably bound up with that of the tenth. Despite considerable migration northward and cityward, the bulk of the Negro population is still in the cotton belt, living under a system of agricultural labor and land tenure which is a perversion of the old ante-bellum plantation culture. Designed to keep the Negro in perpetual poverty and ignorance, the system oppresses

laborers and tenants of both races alike, and pulls down the level of civilization in the whole region; and emigration visits its evil consequences upon distant States and cities. There is a consensus among informed persons that the key to the situation is better public education for both races in the South, for it is chiefly by this means that disease is conquered, economic opportunities created, prejudice softened, and tolerance built up. The demonstrated financial inability of some southern States to support a program of public education attaining modern standards is one of several powerful arguments for the speedy granting of Federal aid to the States for general education.

No more will be said here of the adjustment of the Negro, in view of the fact that Professor Davie writes of it in a companion article and since the American Youth Commission has only recently initiated a study of it from which conclusions will not be available for some time. This study is under the guidance of an advisory committee of distinguished sociologists and educators of both races, and has a staff of white and Negro scholars and investigators at work at several centers in the South and in a large northern city. In these centers, by means of interviews and case studies, the effects of race conflict upon the personality of Negro youth in varying situations are being probed. It may be hoped that some illumination of hitherto little-known aspects of culture conflict between the races and between South and North will result, with inklings as to how their social cost may be lessened.

IN THE SOUTHWEST

Simultaneous with its survey of youth in Maryland discussed above, the American Youth Commission conducted similar surveys in Muncie, Indiana, and Dallas, Texas. The latter city has two substantial racial and national minorities: Negroes and Mexicans. The summary of Jack Robertson's chapter on Negro youth is quotable: "One cannot help but share the discouragement so many of these

youth feel—that America should permit to continue conditions of ill housing, meagre education, lack of employment, low wages, and dearth of educational opportunities, coupled with racial antagonism and isolation.” Of the Mexican minority, most sympathetic students are aware that one cannot understand these people unless one is familiar with their cultural heritage, and that the basis of the “Mexican problem” is culture conflict. Its ultimate solution awaits a wide diffusion among Americans of the ability to recognize and appreciate the admirable elements among the Mexican culture traits, which include patience in craftsmanship, love of art, music, the dance, and of beauty in various forms, along with a tendency to be indifferent to wealth and to have few and simple wants. It is equally essential that Mexican-Americans learn to comprehend and espouse the best features of our Anglo-Saxon traditions. Here educational opportunity enters the picture, and the obligation arises to offer Mexican youth in the United States vocational training that will be economically valuable as well as instruction that will advance their understanding of the national and regional problems of government, economics, and social progress. Robertson has rightly emphasized that such an educational program for Mexican youth should give proper place to their characteristic interests in music and handicrafts.⁸

ENRICHMENT OF CULTURE THROUGH INTERACTION

To recapitulate the four types of culture conflicts just noticed, one must not fail to observe that our pioneer agrarian folkways fostered a rugged honesty, an individual resourcefulness, and a forthright self-reliance which are not to be one whit disparaged, but indeed honored and perpetuated as we move toward a greater social interdependence. Our later rural and village culture contains elements that merit strengthening rather than elimination in a

⁸ Jack Robertson, *A Study of Youth Needs and Services in Dallas, Texas* (Washington, D.C.: American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, 1937), 224 pages, mimeographed.

largely urbanized society. The regional culture of the South should and in fact must continue to evolve along a distinctive regional design. The Negro and other racial and national minorities bring to us culture traits which diversify our total pattern and often counterbalance the grimness and tension that sometimes develop too prominently out of the Anglo-Saxon heritage.

To the youth among us, whether urban, rural, or of different racial or national backgrounds, we owe educational and recreational programs through which they may achieve a softening of cultural discords and a synthesis of cultural values from diverse origins. To themselves and to society they owe the will to learn and the enthusiasm to play well their parts in carrying on and refining a versatile and harmonious American culture.

CULTURE CONFLICTS AND RECENT INTELLECTUAL IMMIGRANTS

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In the ultimate sense of education and of culture, there can be no conflicts. Education is the dynamic life process that makes us bearers and builders of culture; competent and independent contributors toward understanding life and carrying it forward on its various levels, physical, intellectual, and moral. When experimental physics turns up a fact in conflict with the body of physical doctrine, it is nothing more than a new and interesting problem, an area demanding more concentrated endeavor. Apparent culture conflicts are similar temporary stages on the way to a larger culture, a life with more content, individuals more capable of coping with it and enjoying it.

In this setting the recent immigration of intellectuals must be visualized. Because it is just over five years old, extremely young to be appraised for its social-spiritual effects, the following pages will be confined to the group that I have known best and worked with in almost daily contact since September 1933.

Any migration of importance is inspired by crucial events in the life of the individual, often of society or at least of a limited portion of it. The open eye of the traveler in a foreign country opens wider under the impact of a decisive break with the past and a relatively unknown future. The latter means rejuvenation, the former a new maturity. For the young intellectual beginning his career, no more stimulating opportunity could be given than in these United States at this time; it is like a breeze to a sail.

But let us think of the group of early and late middle age, and established reputation. Momentum had largely superseded struggle, distinction was assumed unless mediocrity was proved, talents were promoted and handicaps compensated by intimate knowledge

of milieu, by friendships, co-workers, and the material helps that position commands. In some respects, life was too easy. Then came the shock that culminated in migration. The immigrant was denuded of all nonessentials, and some essentials. In many respects, life began again, overwhelmingly, with a confusion of telescoped impressions held in suspense until they began to organize around the values and experiences with enough vitality to survive transplanting—purification, stimulation. A vastly wider horizon emerged from the youth and space of America as it replaced the age and congestion of Europe. At the same time, it became necessary to reconquer position, to compensate hospitality, and to justify election to a kinder destiny than had been vouchsafed to many in a similar predicament.

Immigrants who make the grade in these circumstances have undergone a double selective process in their countries of origin and of adoption. The first is no guarantee of the second, for early success often weakens resistance and dulls initiative. Indeed, one may say with Sir Arthur Salter that it is only the second effort in the lives of individuals or of nations that is proof of moral strength. America may well be making her second great effort along with her new immigrants for she is at the threshold of social and economic problems demanding that even wealth be husbanded, that there be a limit to waste, even of vast resources. "Opportunity was the watchword of 1925, security is the slogan of 1939." These are the words of an immigrant who was a visitor in 1925, and this is a change deriving added significance from the events that led to the recent immigration.

The war generation of the totalitarian countries, in particular the emigrants of that generation, have probably undergone very nearly a maximum of human experience in the allotted time—war, revolutions, left and right, with corresponding changes of government, inflation and deflation, emigration with all that it implies. They have learned, as few of us have had the opportunity, from

seeing theory put into practice. The generalized result has been rejection of dogma uncritically applied in practical politics, rejection of the revolutionary method and of underlying radical ideologies, especially of class antagonisms as the means to social betterment. Of the many claims that America may still advance toward being a promised land to the immigrant, probably none is more generally recognized even by erstwhile radicals than the absence of the ideology of the class struggle. It proved not only ineffectual but it contributed to the destruction of the very values it was designed to protect and advance. The revolutionary method was no less destructive, proving, if proof were necessary, that social disorder and violence, far from being the way to a better system, grow more dangerous with the same modern techniques, which rightly used would bring about evolutionary change. The further attempt to apply in politics the ready-made dogma of any creed, without considering in detail the concrete situation to which it is to apply, had its full disastrous tryout in the totalitarian countries. It converted ardent devotees of political "isms" into practical men who have learned, to their cost, that a particular situation demands its own solution, albeit with due regard to the ultimate goals of social justice.

Such is the new maturity, the significance of the second chance that proceeds on the heritage of a full experience. Positive and negative circumstances may help or hinder. Of the former, probably one of the most potent is membership in a group, called upon to continue its own profession of teaching for the sake not only of conserving individual talent but of salvaging what was best in the system of which it was a part and of which it might well be the sole survivor; imbued with a resulting sense of individual and collective responsibility, indeed of election; given the opportunity jointly to develop the assimilative process with the mutual help and criticism of the normal rather than the too friendly or unfriendly environment. For the effectiveness of the intellectual in-

dividually, his professional field is important according to the degree in which it varies from country to country, which again depends partly on the relative importance of theory and practice. The knowledge of concrete, practical detail, which is a matter of time and of intimate living with a community, can scarcely be reacquired; as an investment of capital it is largely lost in the new environment. On the other hand, a subject very abstractly handled can in general count less on the interest of an American public. Habitual use of a foreign language, which is a handicap to all, is a greater handicap to some from the standpoint of fluent subtle expression; embodying as it does the genius of the Anglo-Saxon people, which is particular and concrete, it acts as a corrective to German and Italian habits of mind tending toward the abstract and philosophical.

In analyzing the factors that make for the effectiveness of the intellectual immigrant or, for that matter, of any other immigrant, probably none is more important than the welcome given by the new community. In this instance it has been more than cordial; it was extended prior to arrival and has continued with uninterrupted warmth. Moreover, most of the differences in the academic setup here and abroad have been regarded by the newcomers as assets rather than drawbacks. With the college intermediate between the secondary school and graduate study, the doctor's degree here ceases to be the inevitable presupposition of all higher education as it is abroad, and graduate students are, generally speaking, more highly selected. Democracy as a way of life, deeper than any form of government, removes barriers between students and teachers, who are no longer authorities imparting authoritative and perhaps remote wisdom but who proceed rather on the basis of reasoning, prepared to give and take in informal discussion. All audiences, whether made up of students or of outside groups, are found to be independent, tolerant, interested—interested, to be sure, more in current events than in their historical explanation,

perhaps because history is not so obviously with us, in America, except in so far as it forms part of our habitual thinking as free men. This is American bedrock, formerly self-evident to the point of being unconscious or, as Vandervelde put it, taken for granted as air is taken for granted, equally indispensable. Children are the most direct route to the self-evident in a society; they have the unconscious quick responsiveness of youth—their response to these United States has been overwhelming, the call of youth to youth, the vanguard in the assimilative process of the family.

In casting up the balance, we have as positive assets experience that is invaluable, especially in the case of the intellectual immigrant who knows experience to be a part of his capital and who is accustomed to thinking of it critically rather than to take it for granted. We have the humanity and the purification that comes from losing one's pedestal and being again on one's own. We have the individual and the group sense of responsibility of those "saved for a purpose," superimposed upon a twofold moral selection. We have on the debit side the energy consumed in the struggle, including a capital of experience that is not transportable and varying from the negligible to the significant according to one's field of activity.

In a brilliant discussion by Dr. Hans Speier, entitled "Social Conditions of the Intellectual Exile," he remarks that the old universality of the mind has been thoroughly shaken in one respect. "There exists an international market for useful specialists, but parochial groups claim the supreme loyalties of the intellectual." This is the partial statement of a strange paradox. The specialist today is permitted an international market because his internationalism is incidental, not of the essence; but the universality, the internationalism of the intellectual, is the goal of culture, outlawed, therefore, in some parts of the world. Totalitarian governments have set out to patent their own brand of universality, which is a

¹ *Social Research*, IV, No. 3 (September 1937), pp. 316-328.

new and comprehensive provincialism, embracing logic, ethics, and law. Their aim is to extend the quarantine imposed on their own people by shouting so loudly and continuously that it may render futile the shouting of others, by printing more prolifically, and by spying more pervasively. The migration of the intellectual in this sense represents the defeat of the home government and a reassertion of the universality of culture, which would have been denied had he remained in Germany or in Italy. It is an assertion that the continuity of life depends more on culture than on soil, for culture was the primary issue in 1933. The battle has been joined around the world not in the struggle of culture versus culture in any sense in which culture has meaning, but in the struggle of culture versus the attempt to dictate and universalize a preferred brand of ignorance.

Gradually, but with accelerating speed, the United States is pooling the ideas and experiences of the world, not merely of former but likewise of present democracies. Gradually but certainly the conviction is growing that a principal crisis of civilization will be met and faced in the United States. Against the ultimate decision we need the intellectual and moral capital of mankind of which the intellectual immigrants of today are not a negligible portion.

SOME EXPERIMENTS IN CULTURAL PLURALISM

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Public-school teachers and administrators should be aware of some of the early indications of the problems in intercultural education. If they study the census reports of their schools, they may be surprised to find that many of the old settlers have been replaced by people who have come to the United States rather recently. The so-called Yankee stock refers to them as "foreigners."

"Isn't it too bad to build beautiful school buildings and fill them with foreigners" is a remark rather freely used in many areas. The administrators have been criticized for not restraining the foreign students in the matter of prizes, honors, and scholarships. A few well-organized pressure groups as well as influential individuals have caused much embarrassment for teachers. One principal reported a case where a member of his board of education threatened him with a beating because his son had been asked to work in a group with a Polish boy.

The parent-teacher organizations have served a worthy purpose, but in many instances the parents from minority groups are not made to feel welcome. If those parents do attend meetings, they are indirectly encouraged to sit together on one side of the room which is referred to as "the foreigner side."

In the rural areas, particularly, the Yankee farmers band together in coöperative work and leave their new neighbors to work out the problems for themselves. Sometimes they are quite dishonest in their dealings with them. One farmer sold a horse with the heaves to his Russian neighbor for a substantial sum under the pretense that the horse was perfect. Not being an expert judge of sound horses, the Russian farmer trusted his neighbor. A few days after the transaction, while at the county store, he was asked how he liked his new horse. Still unaware of the true situation he said,

"Me no like him, he cough too much." Needless to say, the transaction tended to deepen the channel of misunderstanding between the two men as well as other members of his group. Many more situations could be cited, but it is sufficient to say that every time a person is dishonest with another the element of trust is lost forever.

The home influences on the children cause them to form cliques at school. They resent the sharing of experiences with each other, and gradually arrive at the point where they delight in cheating a member of the minority group in the classroom or on the playground.

The question arises immediately, what can we do to break down these unhealthy attitudes and build an appreciation of all the cultural groups?

First of all, the leaders of young people must have a sympathetic understanding themselves. Too often they appear to have lost their prejudices but actually they have not done so. As long as everything runs along smoothly no difficulty will arise, but the moment a member of a different nationality group irritates the teacher she is liable to resort to anger and remark, "what can you expect of the so and so anyhow?" However, if our leaders do have a sincere appreciation of all groups and can overlook the trivial matters of speech, dress, and racial characteristics, they will be able to establish a more sympathetic understanding of all the races. Francis Greenwood Peabody emphasized the necessity for a sustaining and unfailing supply of patience—patience with diverse temperaments and uncongenial desires; a glad consent to give children their own lives and to refrain from complaint or dictation.

The formation of classes for adults of different cultural backgrounds where all may work together in a truly democratic way is one of the best methods to change the antagonistic attitudes which are so prevalent in almost all of our communities. There are two outstanding examples of this procedure. In the Maplewood

Junior High School (New Jersey) the teachers offered their services to the adult-education classes in the evening. The plan was so popular that it was necessary to move to the senior high school in order that more people could participate. Each year they have over three thousand participants who democratically organize any class that is desired. They decided to charge themselves a small fee for general expense, but aside from that all instruction is free. Here is a good example from a rural area: The Van Hornesville Central School, Van Hornesville, New York, was organized in 1929. Almost immediately, adults of various nationalities began to remark that they wished they could attend school again. The teachers and parents made a tentative list of course offerings and circularized the whole central district. From the results of the survey, a definite program was established and the regular teachers conducted the classes free of charge. The bus drivers offered their services and the board of education loaned the school busses for evening use. Eighteen courses were given the first year in addition to the public forums and educational motion pictures at a cost of two cents per person per night. The courses in homemaking, agriculture, business, science, and music were most popular. It was particularly interesting to study the homemaking class because there were six nationalities represented in the group of forty ladies and one young man. At the close of the term, regular graduation exercises were held and each person received a diploma which listed the number of class sessions in each course he had attended. Thus the vicious practice of gossip in that community was changed to interesting discussions of mutual experiences of these members of various nationality groups at night school.

Many schools are organizing special assembly programs to bring out the cultural contributions of the nationalities represented in the student body, as, for instance, at the Benjamin Franklin Junior High School (New York City), the Franklin K. Lane High School (Brooklyn, New York), or the Ocean Side High School

(Ocean Side, New York). Sometimes the children are assisted by their adult friends and parents, especially if they sponsor a program in music or art.

Fortunately, restrictions of race, color, and creed for teachers are gradually being removed in certain communities. There are still, however, too many administrators and boards of education who refuse to employ a reasonable number from the representative groups in their communities. It is quite common to find 75 per cent of a school's enrollment made up of a certain nationality with only one or two teachers to represent their cultural background.

Good health is one of the first prerequisites for a successful intercultural program. One of the stereotypes in the public mind is that "foreigners" and their children have "dirty necks" and soiled clothing. It is almost pathetic to read in the school column of a newspaper that "we had our physical examination last week," knowing well that there are 500 children enrolled and that the examinations were given by one doctor with a little assistance from the teachers or a nurse. Practically no follow-up work is used and, as a result, the parents have lost faith in the school doctor and the reports which are sent home. One administrator found in a recent survey of his own school system that less than two per cent of the parents attempted to correct the defects noted on the health card from the school. Until this situation is remedied, the task of intercultural education is going to be very difficult.

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, in his address at the first assembly this year expressed the fear that the school, the home, and the church had failed to train youth for the "good life." For our purpose we should be mindful of the rather recent trend in centralized religious education in rural areas, settled predominantly by immigrant stock. In the little churches which have been vacant for many years, or prac-

tically so, one may find exceedingly interesting programs guided by trained leaders who are able to solicit the coöperation of all the minority groups in the territory. Around Van Hornesville, for instance, sectarian lines have been forgotten and a true Christian way of living seems to be returning. The financial contributions are pooled; all religious efforts are united; all experiences are shared.

The celebration of special holidays is an established custom in this country, but the definition of "special" is limited. The predominant English group has determined the days which shall be set apart for observance. If we should argue that the schools and public places should be closed on holidays of all groups, we would probably do little else. However, there are ways of recognizing the majority of these days without interfering with the regular duties.¹ Appropriate assembly programs, parent-teacher meetings, homeroom and club programs which may be sponsored by the different races will add much to the spirit of the school, and make all the people feel that they have a real responsibility in the cultural development of the community. We used to feel that people coming to our country should drop their customs, habits, and language and adopt the ones they found in the new land. Much too late, we discovered that our guests had something to contribute to our culture, if it may be called by that term. A. J. Cronin must have been conscious of the beauty in the simple life, because in *The Citadel* he refers to the Welsh miners as people who found pleasure in their homes, in the chapel halls, and on the Rugby football ground at the top of the town. He goes on to say that their prevailing passion was a love of classical music. It was not uncommon to hear the strains of a Beethoven sonata or a Chopin prelude coming from one of the poor homes. Yet when these people come to this country they are supposed to give up

¹ Mr. Wallace House, instructor in dramatic art, New York University School of Education, has experimented with special assembly programs which are designed to create a better understanding of all cultural groups through the use of music and community singing.

their cultural background because we have been prone to look down upon their kind as "uneducated," "uncultured," and "crude," not aware that they have a great appreciation for the culture of others as well as of their own.

Perhaps this article is too severe because there are numerous communities where the minorities and the dominant groups are amalgamating their activities to such an extent that there is a true spirit of democracy. The plea here is to encourage a greater number of schools to organize their intercultural programs in order that the idea of coöperation and good will toward all may prevail.

SHARING CULTURE VALUES

RACHEL DAVIS-DUBOIS

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Much is being said and written about the need for developing "tolerance" in American life. Should we not ask ourselves whether in a democracy tolerance is enough? If one may define democracy as "shared experiences and conclusions democratically arrived at," is it not clear that merely being tolerant of the presence of various cultural groups in American life is not sharing cultural experiences? If our present culture is in a growing rather than a finished state, then the future American culture will be rich in so far as we now develop an atmosphere in which members of all these groups can share with each other the best of their social values, customs, and folkways. It is obvious that such a condition does not now prevail. This paper aims to point to some results of a lack of sharing cultural values and some possibilities of sharing such values.

In the motion picture *The River*, we are shown in a gripping way how our natural resources are wasted because of the wanton cutting down of our great forests. Over and over, as we watch the picture unfold, comes the theme song, "We built a hundred cities, but at what a cost!"

Even more tragic is the fact that America's *cultural* resources also are being wasted because of the tremendous pressure for every one to act alike, think alike, *be* alike. There was a social worker who in a survey on Americanization wrote on her family visitation card, "Not Americanized yet—still eating Italian food." There was a song being sung in some of our schools:

Their daddies may be Irish, German,
Jew, or Dutch,
But if they're born in Yankee land,
The rest *don't count for much*.

There was Sammy, the maladjusted Jewish boy who was not encouraged to be a Jew and not allowed to be a non-Jew. And so, as Louis Adamic points out in his recent book *My America*, there are at least thirty million second-generation young people so ashamed of their cultural backgrounds that they tend to become too shy, or too aggressive, or at most hang back from any creative effort at citizenship.

The effect of an assumed superiority attitude on the part of the so-called dominant-group members is no less tragic. There was a New England clubwoman who said of a boy by the name of Berzeki when he received the prize for writing the best essay about the League of Nations: "Isn't it too bad the prize wasn't won by an American! You know what I mean, one whose ancestors came over on the Mayflower." The members of the large group of Americans whom this woman represents cannot be creative citizens in a dynamic society, for most of their energy goes into rationalizing themselves, into thinking of themselves as superior to whole groups of people.

Creation demands an energy which comes from a faith in one's self—a love of life and all expressions of life, a faith that will bring about a revolution from this period of mutual strangulation to one of coöperation, national and international, economically, politically, and culturally. Of course it must be done simultaneously on all three fronts. But if we can really adopt the slogan of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and "Make America Safe for Differences," we will release an energy that will not only build a richer culture, but that will find ways to coöperate in working out a solution of our economic and political problems. Lewis Mumford points out in his new book, *The Culture of Cities*, that as the technical side of life becomes more standardized and *more commonly shared by all*, then our cultural backgrounds will become "direct servants of our personalities." He says that we must work both for increased socialization and

individuation on two levels. Cornelia Parker puts it this way: "I don't care who fashions my plumbing, just so I can choose my own hats."

Because James Weldon Johnson, whose recent death we mourn, was proud of being a Negro, he could give us that marvelous classic, *God's Trombones*. Because Louis Adamic is not ashamed of his immigrant background he can create his outstanding novels, such as *Grandsons* and *The Native's Return*. But for every James Weldon Johnson and Louis Adamic there are millions of young Negroes and second-generation Europeans so ashamed of what they are that our country is as barren culturally as is our dust bowl physically.

Lester Ward said that "Society can have what it *values*." If we really value cultural differences, we will put social recognition on being what we are.

Reports have come in from several schools where such social recognition was given in all kinds of school and community projects, activity programs, and the like; reports, for instance, such as that of Esther, who, having been considered dull in school and practically ostracized for being Jewish, began to lose her shyness and to make higher marks; and of ten-year-old Sammy who even became creative and wrote this poem in order to share with his gentile fellow students his delight over Hanukkah lights:

"Hanukkah Lights"

Twinkle, twinkle, light light
Glowing so small
But always bright
Standing in a golden menorah!

One light, two lights, three lights, four,
Growing daily more and more;
Five lights, six lights, seven, eight,
Adventurous stories they relate.

In another school an eleven-year-old girl, part American Indian, was reported as having stopped stammering. Her teacher said that it may have been mere coincidence, but they had done nothing else about it.

Of course the problem of personality maladjustment is not as simple as this. Race and culture group prejudice is only one phase of a very complex phenomenon, but while our psychiatrists are doing their experiments and research may not we, the average classroom teacher and community leader, do what we can to bring first aid to the personalities injured by our present world's madness? This first aid will consist in putting social recognition on being what we are. But, as in all attempts at first aid, we must be aware of dangers. So, we must not allow people to be so proud of their own culture that they can see no good in that of others. This disease the sociologists call "ethnocentrism." We can avoid this by putting emphasis on finding ways of sharing our values so that new values will emerge which will have in them the best of those which have gone into the merging—a creative use of differences. The term "cultural democracy" well describes this process—a thinking, feeling, and acting together, on a basis of equality. We need to be taking thought as to what some of these values are. There is need for intensive thought and experimentation on how to share these differences.

Huxley, in *Ends and Means*, says that we should experiment in sharing of values with the Zuni Indians who have a negative attitude toward wealth, which more of us should have, and a fine coöperative spirit born of group consciousness, but who need to take on some of our qualities, such as alertness.

We are missing for the most part the fine contributions that the Oriental can make to American life; the Chinese attitude toward leisure and their deep love of peace, for instance. We have taken over from the Japanese numerous scientific contribu-

tions, but we have not taken over the less tangible values. The flower-arrangement custom as a symbol of contemplative thought is an example.

Nor must we overlook the need for holding on to and sharing some of the values in our English background: the mastery through discipline of the old New Englander; the ability of the English-Welsh Quaker group to come to common consent without taking a vote.

The Jews have certain interesting ceremonies which tend to hold the family together and thus contribute to personality integration.

There is a folk-festival movement growing in various parts of our country—what with Swedish Tercentenaries and the like, and the Pittsburgh Cathedral of Learning with its fifteen nationality rooms. Too much of this, however, is a matter not of active participation but of passive spectatorship.

As a Jewish friend put it the other day, we need to develop a feeling of *insecurity* if we do *not* share. The writer would feel that in our highest moments we sense the oneness of the human race: that the whole expresses itself in each part in a particular way; that life means to contribute to and receive from the whole; and that never to think and feel and act on a basis of equality with people who have come from different parts of the whole is for us not to have lived completely.

SCALING CULTURAL FRONTIERS

J. W. STUDEBAKER

United States Commissioner of Education

The problems posed by the present uncertain state of international affairs are not limited to political and economic rivalries. Differences equally as important spring from divergencies in cultural heritage. Peoples of various national and racial backgrounds face many basic problems of life in entirely dissimilar ways.

It is evident that these differences make themselves felt not only in relationships between nation and nation. Successive waves of migration, due to economic and other causes, have transplanted large numbers of people into environments totally alien to those in which they first saw the light of day. Some countries, like the United States and certain other American lands, because of their vast natural resources and ideals of democracy, have been magnets for immigrants of many national and racial backgrounds.

The result is that those who would promote a greater understanding among peoples must scale not only international barriers, which are evident on the world's map, but also those equally significant psychological frontiers which have sprung up in certain regions within certain countries between the "natives" and the "foreigners" and even among the various "foreign" groups.

Thus it can readily be seen that the task of interpreting and relating various cultural groups is a twofold one. It is both international and intranational. Both of these approaches to the problem of scaling cultural frontiers must be taken into account, if anything like an effective solution is to be hoped for.

The United States Office of Education, through its radio division, has endeavored to serve in lessening misunderstanding on both of these fronts.

In the international field, it planned a series of twenty-six weekly radio presentations under the title "Brave New World."

These programs were designed to help the people of the United States to achieve a better understanding of the cultural and historical backgrounds of the Latin American nations. It was hoped that these would help in promoting a better understanding among the people of the United States and the neighboring nations of the American hemisphere.

These programs were presented over a national hookup consisting of 102 stations of the Columbia Broadcasting System. I understand that this was the largest network ever used as a channel for such a long series of educational radio programs. It is likewise believed that this was the first time that a government had taken time and money to disseminate among its citizens a greater understanding of the problems and aspirations of other countries.

Over seventy thousand written communications were received in the Office of Education concerning the "Brave New World" series. Some of these came from prominent publicists, writers, educators, and business men, and praised most enthusiastically both the well-conceived philosophy and the excellent techniques underlying the preparation and execution of the programs.

In all parts of the United States, listener groups were organized voluntarily by private organizations. In some localities, students of Spanish, geography, history, and social sciences were advised by their teachers to listen to these programs. The unusual success which attended the "Brave New World" series is only an indication of what could be done in the future toward the promotion of mutual understanding with other nations, particularly if the work were coördinated with similar efforts beyond our borders.

At the present time the United States Office of Education has under way certain plans for the promotion of such reciprocal programs. It is hoped that two series of exchange recordings may be initiated. One would be in Spanish and Portuguese, produced by selected student groups in the United States and distributed in Latin America through the various national ministries of edu-

cation. The other would be a series of programs in English, produced by selected student groups in each country of Latin America and distributed in the United States through national or regional broadcasting chains.

In planning programs of this kind, the Office of Education realizes the natural limitations of radio. After all, radio is an excellent medium for engaging the interest of the public at large; but in order that this attention may be translated into lasting results, other activities of a much more far-reaching nature must be sponsored, to take advantage of the widespread interest which radio is able to arouse. For instance, follow-up material should be prepared prior to the broadcasting to supplement the radio programs. It should be distributed on a large scale both during and after the life of a series. Direct contacts should be established and maintained with teachers, group leaders, and other key people who are in a position to give currency to the ideas and ideals to which the radio programs themselves are devoted. These activities naturally lead to others. The Office of Education must be prepared to anticipate the needs which will undoubtedly present themselves as the initial efforts become increasingly effective.

There are many phases of a program for closer understanding with other American republics, which very naturally come within the purview of education. Which important literary works of the United States are available in French, Portuguese, and Spanish, and which important Latin American works can be had in English? What are the ingredients of courses of study in history, geography, and allied subjects now being given in the schools of this country? Would they lend themselves to reorientation in order that greater emphasis might be placed on Latin countries than is the case at the present? These and many other questions require answering. A host of other needs in the field could be cited if space permitted. These needs are now being charted by the Office of Education and possible means for filling them are being explored

in connection with plans drawn up by the Inter-Departmental Committee for Coöperation with American Republics, appointed last spring by President Roosevelt.

With regard to the equally important task of cultural interpretation within our own country, the Office of Education is currently sponsoring a radio series of twenty-six weekly broadcasts entitled "Americans All—Immigrants All," in coöperation with the Columbia Broadcasting System and with the assistance of the Service Bureau for Intercultural Education. The purpose of this series is to portray the interdependence of the various racial and cultural groups which came to this country and the contributions which they have made toward its upbuilding. The series is scheduled to run until early May. Not only have certain racial and national groups been most coöperative in creating interest for the series, but other organizations interested in the general problem of migration and better intercultural relations have contributed the use of their facilities in broadening the effectiveness of these timely broadcasts.

Here too the need for follow-up activities is clearly evident. Scores of letters from educators, writers, and other leaders of public opinion have been received, pointing up in bold relief the great need for promoting better appreciation among the various national and racial groups which make up our population.

In the City of New York, Dr. Harold G. Campbell, superintendent of schools, is reported to have made plans for improved methods of teaching tolerance in the New York City schools. This is a noteworthy step in the right direction and will no doubt be followed by educational leaders in other sections of the country. Such a trend will probably necessitate a good deal of coöperation from the Office of Education. This field of usefulness is now being explored and tentative plans for possible activities are being drawn up.

In accordance with these plans the "American All—Immigrants All" radio broadcasts are to be made simply the starting point for

a wider campaign in behalf of intercultural education. For example, recordings are now being made for these programs as they go on the air. The recordings will ultimately be made available to educational institutions and other groups through the Script and Recording Exchange of the Office of Education, together with a manual indicating how they may best be used to attain the objectives sought. There is also a possibility that a book tracing the origins and contributions and the interplay of various racial and national groups that have contributed to the upbuilding of our country may be published.¹

It is quite obvious that this larger program will necessitate the setting up of facilities to take care of the ever increasing needs in the field of intercultural education. Just what form this may take is still undecided, but the basic principles underlying it are quite obvious.

The first and main objective would be to stimulate and guide educational and allied channels in this country to a further appreciation of the need for intercultural understanding. The second function of such a plan would be to provide radio programs, publications, visual aids, and other material both for teachers and students in the educational institutions of the country as well as for adults and others not connected with any such institutions. Other services would no doubt grow out of these basic needs, but they are too numerous to mention here. Suffice it to say that this development would be one of the most practical steps ever undertaken by any government to promote better understanding among peoples whose differences of racial and national background might otherwise keep them from cooperating as they should toward the further enrichment of our national life.

It seems quite evident to most thinking people that this country, great as it is, can become still greater by continuing to benefit from the values which other peoples with various and unique heritages can give to it.

¹ A foundation for this thesis has recently been developed in F. J. Brown and J. S. Roucek, *Our Racial and National Minorities* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937), 21 + 877 pages.

POLITICAL ASPECTS OF CULTURAL PLURALISM

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Cultural pluralism is no new problem in American politics. Two decades of rapidly increasing immigration after 1820 produced a strong political movement which manifested itself in native Americanism. Less than half a century later, fear of Oriental immigration resulted in the Chinese exclusion acts of the 1880's; this phase of the movement culminated in the Japanese exclusion provisions of the Immigration Act of 1924. In the meantime, various States attempted to discriminate against aliens regarding entry into certain occupations, land owning, and public employment. The latest expression of this attitude is the recent removal of aliens from the WPA relief rolls. Restrictions, by both State action and popular reaction, on Negro political, economic, and social equality of opportunity are too well known to require analysis.

National power to regulate the entry and the immediate activities of aliens has been universally upheld by the Supreme Court. But, while the Court has been almost powerless to reach unofficial activities (such as lynchings, for instance), it has been vigilant in restraining State infringements of alien rights. This has followed two broad lines of policy. On the one hand, it has imposed on the States responsibility for police protection of aliens. The Federal Government has supported this right of aliens by executive and legislative action—evidenced by its intervention in such cases of infringement as the McLeod case in the 1840's and the race riots in New Orleans in the 1890's.¹ On the other, it has pretty consistently invalidated State laws which infringed either the general guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment or the specific rights conferred by treaties. Certain areas of State power, such as land

¹ For the principles involved and the national action to support them, see J. B. Moore, *Digest of International Law* (Washington, D. C., 1908), Vol. VI, 261, 837.

owning, have been held by the Court as beyond general treaty terms, but, on the whole, alien rights to live, and to earn a living, have been broadly interpreted by the Court.²

This brief historical résumé indicates that, so far as the question of immigration and occupation are concerned, the alien has, within the limits set by national policy, an essential equality of status and right in this country. This concept of equality was forged in the era of heavy immigration. Only twice has the National Government intervened to limit the practical application of this concept; both instances were in periods of national emergency in foreign relations. The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 and the Espionage Act of 1917 were war-time measures. Both were shortly repealed or fell into desuetude (not altogether innocuous in individual instances) by a change of executive attitude (and so policy in their enforcement).

On the other hand, the States have increasingly reacted to the rising tide of immigration in terms of alien philosophies—and their propagation in this country. The melting-pot period of ideas produced a series of experiments in "Americanization" which—one might say only accidentally—resulted in any real cultural assimilation of immigrant groups with the basic American tradition of democracy. Most Americanization programs of the last half century, whether official or unofficial in initiation, have proved ineffective in transmitting American ideas and ideals to the newer elements in the population.

It would be an interesting exploration to analyze and appraise the causes of this failure. In retrospect, we can see at once certain of them. The economic and social status of the newer groups in the wider community of the nation was pretty largely ignored

² J. P. Clark, *Deportation of Aliens* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931); C. Seckler-Hudson, *Statelessness with Special Reference to the United States* (Washington, D. C.: American University Press, 1934); N. Alexander, *Rights of Aliens Under the Federal Constitution* (Montpelier, Vt.: Capital City Press, 1931); Harold Fields, *Refugees in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938).

by the proponents of Americanization programs. This attitude, itself perhaps the result of our traditional faith in individual initiative, did, however, produce certain very tangible effects. Immigrant groups—quite naturally—flocked together, and thus were, in their daily life at work and at play, more or less effectively segregated from the most active transmitting agency, true neighborhood and community contacts. Their occupational level was low; they concentrated, by force of having to earn a living somehow, in the urban centers where they recreated patterns of life—and of thought—brought over from their Old Countries. Isolation from the main current of American life and thought was, if not actually imposed by native American attitudes and policies, very tangibly facilitated. Again, earlier Americanization programs seem today both shortsighted and romantic. Too little effort was made to understand and assimilate the cultural contributions which various immigrant groups were capable of making to a new and broader American culture. Only in recent years have we begun to appreciate how much we can gain from a real melting pot of cultures. Moreover, many of the programs emphasized rather abstract and idealized democratic concepts—without recognizing how far short of a practical manifestation of these concepts we fell in our economic and social policies toward immigrant groups, especially in the cities. Romantic interpretations of democracy were hardly likely to take root in the climate of exploitation and indifference in which so many of the immigrants lived.

But, whatever the causes of the failure to make of the American tradition a true leaven in the immigrant groups, State efforts to suppress alien ideologies were widespread. The movement was accentuated by the sharp experience of the World War period, when we awoke to a realization of the political implications of cultural pluralism. Many States passed laws against the expression of dissident political doctrines. Without examining them in detail here,

it is enough to point out that thirty-four States have enacted laws limiting the public advocacy of (and in some cases personal adherence to) political anarchism, overthrow of government by force, etc.³ Most of these laws are still in force; enough have passed the scrutiny of the Supreme Court to ensure a far-reaching control of opinion and action once a State legislature determines to enforce it.

What is most significant at present is, however, not the existence of these laws, but their application in practice. Almost universally they were designed to meet a vague but widespread fear, during and after the Great War, of communism. Although general in character, they have been directed in their enforcement, practically without exception, against the followers of Karl Marx. No doubt the established idea (though often not practice, even in politics) of law and order was buttressed by American concepts of private property; the menace of communism was even more exigent for the latter than for the former. This attitude has been manifested not only in the application of these laws but in more general activities such as, recently, the policies pursued by investigating committees, national and State.⁴

But the issue of cultural pluralism in politics has taken a new turn with the rise of alternative political doctrines of totalitarianism. The question is not one simply of an increasing number of alien immigrants remaining—for whatever reason—culturally more or less unassimilated. No longer is the menace to democratic philosophy and practice exclusively from the Left. The Rightist ideologies of force as the basis of political authority, implicit in fascist dogmas and tactics, are increasingly being propagated over

³ See bibliographies and other materials of American Civil Liberties Union, 31 Union Square, New York, N. Y.; American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.; Foreign Language Information Service, 222 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

⁴ See, for instance, the Hearings and Report of the Dies Committee (Seventy-sixth Congress, First Session, House Report, No. 2). A number of State legislative committees, notably in Massachusetts (1938), have conducted similar investigations.

here. The political problems which their advocates raise are more immediate and difficult than those created—in fact, if not in popular estimate—by the previous wave of communist activities in this country.

The issue is more imminent for several reasons. The cultural—and political—contacts between fascist groups in this country and in the countries of origin (of the groups—and the ideas) are probably more active, constant, and intimate than was true of any communist groups here. The number of their adherents is, potentially at least, much greater. The character of their activities is more emotionally disturbing, more challenging, and, if tolerated in the overt forms, more alien to our democratic procedures—and our interest in our hard-won freedoms of conscience, speech, and political expression. How shall we meet the issue?

Any detailed proposals are insusceptible of brief analysis; some general considerations may be noted here. The problem of cultural pluralism in our domestic politics will be most surely met by a double-edged policy. On the positive side, what is needed is a more adequate social and economic security for the "one third of a nation" now denied it. Fear of insecurity is perhaps the chief breeder of allegiance to totalitarianism. Were our economic order and our social habits more genuinely based on a pursuit of "the general welfare," the danger of any widespread popular support of fascism or communism would be irrelevant. When the masses of the people are without assurance of the essentials of a decent standard of living, they are less likely to appraise critically the promises of Utopia offered by the advocates of totalitarian government—or their ability to implement their promises. That is perhaps the most urgent task of statesmanship in this country today; on its assumption may very well depend the assurance of the survival of democratic institutions.

But the attainment of the general welfare in these terms cannot be achieved in an atmosphere of political anarchy produced by

coercion rather than by consent. Some negative sanctions against the display—and the use—of force as the accepted procedure of political action are, perhaps more than ever before in our history, necessary if we are to implement the democratic faith in social and economic terms. The nub of the problem lies in defining political limitations on minority group action without infringing the traditional rights and practices of freedom of speech.

The line can be "pricked out" here as it has been in democratic countries abroad without infringing the essence of freedom. What is alien—and unnecessary—to true freedom of speech and political expression is the use of emotional symbols and coercive tactics. Uniforms, mass demonstrations directed against minority groups, the parade of obvious foreign allegiances, and political doctrines under a very thin mask of loyalty are not the kind of persuasion which made the democratic faith effective—when it was itself a minority idea. Nor are they essential to conversion to a new faith within the ambit of democratic practices and procedures. Is there any reason why they should be tolerated in the name of freedom of speech or political expression?

How to eliminate these excrescences on the political process has been demonstrated by various countries in Europe. When Great Britain banned by law the wearing of uniforms in political parades, the British people laughed the fascist regiments off the street. Until "appeasement" allowed military intervention in Czecho-Slovakia, that country effectively curbed brass-knuckle politics. And there are numerous other examples from which to draw the terms of effective legislative limitations on force as a political tactic.⁸

Our geographical isolation makes active intervention here illusory—however attractive it may appear to some prophets of totalitarianism. The technological and political conditions for a

⁸The best analysis of these laws is Karl Loewenstein, "Legislative Control of Political Extremism in European Democracies," *Columbia Law Review*, XXXVIII, 4 and 5 (1938), 591, 725.

closer approximation of a real general welfare are probably more favorable here than in any other country. The most crucial question in this field of cultural pluralism is: Shall we protect by adequate legislation the procedures of Government by consent while there is yet time? We have the means at our command; have we the will to utilize them?

FUTURE STEPS IN CULTURAL PLURALISM

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Approximately every tenth person among American youth is of the Negro race. We must not forget also that one third of the population in the United States is composed of first- or second-generation foreign born. In fact, the cultural and racial dividing lines of our population are considerable, as can be seen from the following statistics (census of 1930):

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Total population	122,775,046	
Native parentage	82,488,768	76.0
Foreign or mixed parentage	26,082,129	24.0
Foreign parentage	17,535,071	16.2
Mixed parentage	8,547,058	7.9
White	108,864,207	88.7
Negro	11,891,143	9.7
Mexican	1,422,533	1.2
Indian	332,397	.3
Japanese	138,834	.1
Chinese	74,954	.1
Filipino	45,208	
Others	5,770	

The situation becomes even more complicated when we notice that, in 1930, of the foreign born only 55.8 per cent were naturalized and that 9.9 per cent were illiterate. The picture is even worse in regard to the Negro, whose rate of illiteracy was 16.3 per cent, or the Mexican, the Indian, the Chinese, and the Japanese, with the percentages of illiteracy reaching 27.5 per cent, 25.7 per cent, 20.4 per cent, and 9.2 per cent, respectively.

This serious enigma has undoubtedly improved since 1930, but the problem by no means has been solved and has cost us much

in maladjustment, in crime, poverty, social conflicts, and disorganization because of our indifference and the failure of the melting-pot theory. Fortunately, in recent years a new theory of the adjustment of minority groups to the dominant civilization in America has been emerging, that of cultural pluralism.¹ It emphasizes that all the minority groups in America have their unique values to contribute to us and that our civilization will be richer by accepting the best that they have to offer to us. We can bridge the present cultural gap between the foreign-born and the American-born generation by preserving the fundamentals of the heritages of the different nationalities and races in our midst.

We have seen in the previous articles that much has been accomplished by several attempts to translate this theory into practice. But more will have to be done in the near future in order to make the intercultural education more effective.

In the first place, nearly all our American history will have to be rewritten. Most of it has been based on the ideology emphasizing the Anglo-Saxon and Puritanical impress on our civilization. We acknowledge, of course, that the United States arose from the thirteen colonies which revolted against England. But these covered only a small portion of the present territory of the country, and included also Dutch and Swedish settlements. Since 1783 the United States has grown mostly by the acquisition of the French, Spanish, Mexican, and Indian territories. Even if no immigrants would have reached our shores since the formation of the United States, our country would still be far from having a homogeneous Anglo-Saxon population. But just the contrary is the fact. About thirty-eight million immigrants have landed here since 1820. Then we must add to this conglomeration of nationalities the twelve million Negroes, who have no Anglo-Saxon or European background and who are of an entirely different race.

¹ Cf. E. George Payne, "Education and Cultural Pluralism," Chapter XXVII, in F. J. Brown and J. S. Roucek, *Our Racial and National Minorities* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937), pp. 759-769.

Obviously, our history must really show how the original Anglo-American culture has been modified by the continued impacts of the cultures of the minority groups, conditioned, in turn, by the geographical and social factors in America and by the distance of this country from the original habitat of the immigrants. More and more researches are and will be available on the role played by these minorities in American life, prepared especially by the descendants from these minority groups able to read the languages of the smaller and less known nations. Furthermore, little effort has been made to popularize their findings and to incorporate them in our textbooks. This applies especially to our national minorities known as "new" immigrants. It is seldom known, in spite of the considerable documentary evidence, that most of the so-called "new" immigrant groups date their first arrivals from pre-Revolutionary days.

All of these groups have brought with them their folkways, legends, folklore and folk tales, folk music, games, dances, rituals, and all forms of folk art. Some of it has been lost, some of it has been preserved, and most of it has been adapted to the American conditions. But hardly anything has been done to preserve, classify, and describe these marginal cultures which are inextricably interwoven with our American history. Yet, here we have a culture common to all peoples, the knowledge of which can go a long way in overriding national animosities. During the last ten years nearly every European country has made some official move and given some official government help toward the preservation and the presentation of these traditional values. But America has as yet to follow these examples. It is true that nearly every minority group in the United States has aimed to leave memorials of its life and development in the form of writings, printed matter, and historical relics. But, in spite of the superabundance of this material today, our American institutions have not even begun to develop systematically and on a long-range basis such archival,

library, and museum collections, although such treasures may be had today for the mere asking, and may not be available tomorrow simply because they are disappearing and are being destroyed in proportion as the older generations are dying out and the succeeding generations are "Americanizing" themselves. We have much to learn from the policies developed by such institutions as the Polish Roman Catholic Union Archive and the Museum of Chicago, whose purpose is "to collect and preserve all that pertains to the history of the Poles in the United States of America," or the American Institute of Swedish Arts, Literature, and Science of Minneapolis, or the Dan-American Archives, Sohngaardsholm, Aalborg (Denmark). Unfortunately, there are only a few such minority groups which have been massing painstakingly and scientifically such archival material, composed of books, pamphlets, files of newspapers and magazines published by our minority groups in English or in their respective languages, reports of immigrant societies and organizations of any kinds, portraits of minority pioneers and eminent persons, photographs and pictures illustrating their life in America, autographs and manuscripts, maps, medals, badges, etc. A day will have to come when our official or private institutions will begin gathering this storehouse of information and make it available to our social scientists. No comprehensive understanding of the United States can be acquired without a thorough acquaintance with the past and present conditions of all our racial and national minorities, based on a patient research in such documents, now scattered and abandoned in "national homes," churches, and attics and cellars of private homes.

Much energy has been expended in promoting the ideal of peace and international understanding. We can simplify considerably this task for ourselves by utilizing our minority groups as links between America and the rest of the world. In other words, the best way to promote internationalism is to promote it right at home, where our idealism can be put to a practical test. When

interested, for instance, in advancing our knowledge of Poles, why not secure permanent and temporary exhibits of arts, crafts, and literature, hold group conferences, present pageants, drama, music recitals, and dance festivals of Poland in coöperation with our American Poles and their descendants? By drafting them, as well as all others, we shall be able to identify and preserve the cultural contributions of our Americans of varied backgrounds for the enjoyment and pride of these groups and for the enrichment of Americans in general.

It is true that here and there much has been done in the way of experimentation, but most of it has been limited to the presentation of such programs to the Poles and the Americans interested in Poland, the Czechs and Americans interested in Czecho-Slovakia, and so on. In the future, what will have to be emphasized more is that the American democratic way of life demands the creation of an intelligent consciousness of our national group life and our relationships to the rest of the world. Concretely speaking, our intercultural education will have to make *all* Americans and *all* our minority groups aware of the values of *all* other cultures on the assumption that no one culture contains all favorable elements, but that each group has a share in building our democracy.

In line with this thought, the school specifically must take the lead in bringing about a greater appreciation of our minority cultures. Only through the adoption of a conscious program by all agencies of education will it be possible to avoid here a repetition of the racial, national, and religious strife now taking place abroad. A further development of adult education among foreign-born parents, with special emphasis on the elimination of culture conflicts of their children, the use of English in introducing foreign-language radio programs, the rapid development of English periodicals, containing sections in foreign languages, promoting the decrease of foreign habits, and emphasizing less the affairs of the homelands and more the national problems of the United

States, and the preparation of films portraying the contributions of national groups in America, are additional concrete suggestions.² Ultimately, however, all aspects of intercultural education will have to become an accepted part of general education, without the continued requirement of special approaches, materials, and techniques.

² F. J. Brown, "U. S. 'Melting Pot' Is Seen as Failure," *The New York Times*, December 25, 1938, Section 2, p. 11.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send in at once to the editor of this department titles, and where possible descriptions, of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology.

INFLUENCING RACIAL ATTITUDES OF SECONDARY-SCHOOL STUDENTS

It is the purpose of this study to determine whether a coördinated effort of a group of teachers in the Benjamin Franklin High School, New York City, to influence their students' attitudes favorably toward Negroes, Italians, Jews, and Puerto Ricans will prove successful. Instances of tension among these groups, which are the largest in this New York City school, have brought the need of this work to the faculty's attention with cogent force.

Toward this end the following devices have been used:

- A. A complete modification of all subject matter in the curriculum
- B. The use of motion pictures
- C. The discussion of pertinent radio programs, such as "Americans All—Immigrants All," which is being broadcast weekly over a national hookup
- D. Assembly programs dealing with minority culture groups
- E. Dramatic productions
- F. Guest speakers representing various minority groups
- G. Coöperation with community agencies

Since the 108-item questionnaire given to the students at the inception of the experiment will be readministered at its close, it should be possible, after comparing the results with that of a control group, to ascertain roughly whether the school's efforts have been in any way effective.

If the experiment is at all successful, it is hoped that other schools may decide to organize programs which foster an appreciation and understanding of cultural minorities' accomplishments and problems. Such a program is essential if democracy is to survive the current onslaughts of bigotry.

Fortune's SURVEY OF ATTITUDES ON RELIGION AND TOLERANCE

The *Fortune* magazine in coöperation with the National Conference of Jews and Christians is to conduct a survey of attitudes on religion and tolerance. The survey will attempt to determine whether there is more or less interest in religion today than formerly and the extent to which there has been an increase in prejudice or tolerance toward persons of diverse religious faiths. The relation of religion to democracy and the motivation of religious attitudes of equality will also be covered. Popular attitudes toward heterogeneity of racial stock and restriction of immigration will be ascertained. Other types of information which will be sought are the methods used by the school in inculcating tolerance, the meaning of patriotism in a democracy, the relation of religion to freedom, the type of institution best calculated to resist tyranny, the relation of religion to sectarianism, the relative amount of freedom under communism, fascism, and democracy, and the extent to which religion should apply its social ideals to practical problems.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL PUBLICATIONS

Recent monographs published under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York, are as follows: C. A. Kulp, *Social Insurance Coördination: An Analysis of German and British Organization*; Douglas H. Macneil, *Seven Years of Unemployment Relief in New Jersey 1930-1936*; W. S. Woytinsky, *Labor in the United States*.

SUMMER INSTITUTE DATE SET

The date for the annual institute of the Society for Social Research has been tentatively set for August 18 and 19 (1939). The institute will be held at the University of Chicago. Suggestions as to speakers and round tables will be welcomed by the president, Professor Earle F. Johnson, Social Science Building, University of Chicago.

SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY TO HEAR RESEARCH REPORTS

The Eastern Sociological Society will meet on April 22 and 23 (1939) at the Berkeley-Carteret Hotel, Asbury Park, New Jersey. The program is approximately as given on page 507.

Saturday, April 22

- 10.00 a.m.—12.00 m. *Reports on research.* Chairman, Alfred M. Lee.
 12.30—2.00 p.m. Luncheon with one or two short addresses.
 2.00—4.30 p.m. Three simultaneous section meetings dealing with specific problems each representing a broad area:
1. *Marriage and family counseling* (human relations in the primary group, personality, family, social case work, sociology, and psychiatry). Chairman to be selected.
 2. *Anti-Semitism* (ethnic relations, conflict and accommodation groups, minority peoples, immigration). Chairman, Maurice R. Davie.
 3. Sorokin's *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (social theory, social trends and change, culture in general, sociology of knowledge). Chairman, W. Rex Crawford.
- 7.00 p.m. annual dinner.

Sunday, April 23

- 9.00—10.00 a.m. Business meeting.
 10.00 a.m.—12.00 m. Symposium on *Sociology, Education, and Social Action.*

Exhibit space has been provided and exhibits will be presented which will illuminate sociological research and activity particularly in New Jersey.

Annual dues in the Society for 1938—1939 are \$1.00 and are payable to Mr. Paul F. Cressey, Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts. Further details about the program may be obtained by writing to Professor Joseph K. Folsom, President, Eastern Sociological Society, Vassar College.

SURVEY OF A UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

At the request of the University of Georgia, the American Library Association has invited a special committee to survey and report on that institution's library. Ralph M. Dunbar, Chief, Library Service Division, Office of Education, is serving on this survey, along with Dean L. R. Wilson, University of Chicago, Harvie Branscomb, Duke University, and Guy R. Lyle, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina.

BOOK REVIEWS

An Introduction to Sociology and Social Problems, by WALTER GREENWOOD BEACH. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937, xiv + 370 pages.

This is a revision of the author's earlier text published in 1925. It is, however, much more than a revision. New sections have been included; all the material has been brought up to date; and the entire volume shows careful reorganization. Even more important is the constant evidence of genuine scholarship and mature judgment.

Co-Curricular Activities in Elementary Schools, by HENRY J. OTTO and SHIRLEY A. HAMRIN. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1937, 441 pages.

This volume is based on an investigation of cocurricular work in forty elementary schools distributed throughout thirteen States. The reports from 392 elementary-school teachers are supplemented by the authors' personal experience and interpretation. The wealth of material from which teachers and principals may draw for specific pupil activities makes the book the most significant contribution to this field since Borgenson's publication in 1931. In the book we find suggestions, sample programs, and best practices listed under twelve separate areas of cocurricular activities. These are evaluated on the basis of a philosophy that sets forth the school as a place where boys and girls really live rather than as a place where they prepare to live.

The Organization and Administration of Student Teaching in State Teachers Colleges, by ELISHA LANE HENDERSON. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937, 125 pages.

Another well-organized study in the important field of student teaching which reports and evaluates practices in 37 State teachers colleges. The monograph will prove especially valuable to administrative and supervisory officers in charge of student teaching in teacher-training institutions.

An Analysis of the Supervision of Student Teaching, by EDWARD S. MOONEY. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937, vii + 159 pages.

This monograph gives a clear picture of what currently is taking place in the supervision of student teachers in elementary schools. While the study is chiefly concerned with practice in New York State it likewise considers the situation in a selected cross section of the United States comparable in certain respects with New York.

The author develops guiding concepts underlying the supervision of student teaching, analyzes current practice, and reports his conclusions and recommendations. Particularly commendable is his section on recommendations wherein he shows the way to a unified teacher-preparation program and makes other excellent suggestions for improving the supervision of student teachers preparing to become elementary-school teachers.

The Supreme Cause, by ESTELLE M. STERNBERGER. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1926, 218 pages.

The subtitle of this very readable little book aptly describes it, "A Practical Book About Peace." The author reviews the war-time oppositions to peace movements, and the position of "the militarists who hated war." He analyzes the misleading statements of the "war racketeers" and of the press, the platform and activities of peace movements, and presents a brief summary of the international scene including both the imperialistic aggression of all nations, including our own, and the machinery for internationalism, the League and the World Court.

The wide scope of the material covered prevents the inclusion of details, yet the author has sketched in the broad pattern skillfully and boldly. There is a balance and perspective often lost in these days of gathering war clouds.

The Use of Background in the Interpretation of Educational Issues.

Edited by Fowler D. Brooks. Twenty-Fifth Yearbook of the National Society of College Teachers of Education. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937, 256 pages, \$1.50.

One of the problems which continually faces the teacher is that of integrating the various approaches to the problems of education. The

biologist, psychologist, the sociologist, the philosopher, and the historian, each feels his is the major channel through which educational issues should be interpreted.

The authors of this yearbook include representatives from each of these and other fields. While each has presented material from his own viewpoint, the inclusion of all of them in a single volume assists the serious teacher in making the necessary synthesis of the various approaches to his problems.

Why We Do It, by EDWARD C. MASON. St. Louis: The C. V. Mosby Company, 1937, 177 pages.

This is a very readable little book on the function of psychiatry and its relation to medicine and psychology. The author has written it for the layman and has succeeded in his purpose to "aid some parent in adjusting his child to its environment or to prompt some individual to seek the aid of a psychiatrist before filing suit for divorce."

Textbook in Educational Biology, by H. CLAY SKINNER, THOMAS SMYTH, and FRANK M. WHEAT. New York: American Book Company, 1937, 472 pages.

This is an introductory college course in biology designed for the general education of teachers of nonscience subjects. It is based upon an analysis of many courses now in use. It has achieved a partial compromise between the older type of college biology dealing with the classification, structure, and habits of living things, a later type utilizing a few of the major interpretative generalizations of science as core content, and a still later type involving the more practical problems of man's relationship to living things. The reader is more conscious of teaching method in this book than in most books of its kind. Each unit is preceded by a preview and followed by organizational materials involving questions, topics for investigations, laboratory exercises, and tests. The problems are stated in question form. The illustrations are good teaching devices. Too little attention is given to the development of desirable points of view, or attitudes through biology. Little opportunity is given the student to practise consciously the techniques of thinking scientifically. The size of the book restricts the amplification of many significant areas. It should, however, be useful to teachers who hope to move gradually from the older to the newer points of view in science education.

A Sociological Analysis of Rural Education in Louisiana, by MARION B. SMITH. Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1938, 129 pages.

The heated controversy over the further extension of consolidation of schools makes this an extremely valuable piece of research. Through objective analysis, as far as humanly possible, the author appraises the claims made for consolidation and the degree to which accruing advantages are offset by equally important disadvantages. His conclusions are significant: it appears that the consolidated scheme does not solve the educational problem in rural districts, that the rural school and the rural community need to be brought closer together, and that the solution lies in the development of small neighborhood schools especially for children in the lower grades.

The German Reich and Americans of German Origin, by a group of sponsors. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938, 45 pages.

This little volume contains photostatic reproductions (and translations) of propaganda transmitted to Germans outside the Reich. The avowed purpose of National Socialism is to unify all persons of German birth or ancestry regardless of their present citizenship. The only law is the word of Hitler and through foreign propaganda that law is increasingly applicable to Germans living outside of the Third Reich.

The compilers do not believe that there is any danger of gravely affecting German Americans through such propaganda, but believe that if it continues to be permitted, a cyst in the body politic of the American people is inevitable.

The Ramparts We Watch, by GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc., 1938, 370 pages.

The subtitle indicates the area covered by this very interesting volume, "A Study of the Problems of American National Defense" and the point of view is indicated by the subject of the first chapter, "Force Remains the Final Arbiter of Nations." The close relationship between our economic and military policies is presented, not from an imperialistic point of view but one wholly of defense. Without argument and with no attempt to prove the threat of war, the author tacitly, almost naïvely, assumes war

is inevitable and maximum defense, therefore, essential. The main portion of the volume is given to a factual analysis of our present defense strength, and needed expansion in all three fields: army, navy, and in aviation with major emphasis upon the navy.

Community Planning in Adult Education, by the Staff of the Department of Adult Education, School of Education, New York University. New York: Service Bureau for Adult Education, Division of General Education, New York University, 1938, 66 pages.

As it is intended, this pamphlet presents in carefully organized, terse form the practical advice, information, and directions necessary for an adult-education leader or committee interested in initiating or improving a community program.

It indicates the need and methods of determining community resources and desires, planning the program, and meeting the problems of guidance, teacher selection and supervision, financing the program, and measuring the results. A valuable appendix of references, suggested techniques, and sources of assistance completes the pamphlet.

It is an ambitious, practical contribution to the new field of planned adult education. Fortunately its usefulness was not impaired by "amplifying" it to textbook size.

The Changing Community, by CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938, 653 pages.

Professor Zimmerman has emphasized that communities have "personalities," and that they exhibit life cycles of development, growth, and decay. One third of his book is devoted to an empirical analysis of the community and its patterns of change; the remaining two thirds of the book presents fourteen careful, detailed "case-history" studies of local communities in Asia, England, the Canadian prairie provinces, New England, the South and the Middle West. The book is consistent in its analysis and interpretation of community organization, interaction, and development. It is a valuable, needed contribution to the study of the local community as a dynamic pattern of social organization. Professor Zimmerman, like his predecessors in this field, gropes and stumbles in seeking a definition of "community."

